Voices of Despair from the Negro Delta, P. 3

How We Enrich the Lives of Our Gallant Allies in South Vietnam

"As battle rages we will continue as best we can to help the good people of South Vietnam enrich the condition of their life. . . ."

—Lyndon B. Johnson at Press Conference, July 28.

"In Bien Hoa province south of Saigon on Aug. 16 U.S. aircraft accidentally bombed a Buddhist pagoda and a Catholic Church . . . it was the third time their pagoda had been bombed in 1965. A temple of the Cao Dai religious sect in the same area has been bombed twice this year.

"In another delta province there is a woman who has both arms burned off by napalm and her eyelids so badly burned that she cannot close them. When it is time for her to sleep her family puts a blanket over her head. The woman had two of her children killed in the air strike that maimed her. . . .

"Although the daily air raids against North Vietnam have received most of the public attention, the ever increasing ferocity of aerial bombardment in South Vietnam may have a much greater ultimate effect on the outcome of the guerrilla war here. Few Americans appreciate what their nation is doing to South Vietnam with airpower . . . this is strategic bombing in a friendly allied, country . . . innocent civilians are dying every day in South Vietnam."

—Chas. Mohr from Saigon in the New York Times Sept. 5

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XIII, NO. 29 SEPTEMBER 13, 1965 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

A 7-Point Program for World Peace

It is clear now to everyone that the suicide of civilization is in progress. . . . Wherever there is lost the consciousness that every man is an object of concern for us just because he is man, civilization and morals are shaken, and the advance to fully developed inhumanity is only a question of time. . . . We have talked for decades with ever increasing light-mindedness about war and conquest, as if these were merely operations on a chess-board; how was this possible save as the result of a tone of mind which no longer pictured to itself the fate of individuals, but thought of them only as figures or objects belonging to the material world? . . . Only such thinking as establishes the sway of the mental attitude of reverence for life can bring to mankind perpetual peace.

—Albert Schweitzer: The Philosophy of Civilization (1923)

Only a few hours before, the world's statesmen had been paying tribute to Albert Schweitzer, and to his philosophy of reverence for life. But when war broke out full scale between India and Pakistan, what appeared uppermost in their calculations was reverence for strategy. It was not what the war would do to the peasant on both sides, his wife and children, his cow or goat and his hopes, which stirred concern but what it might do to the balance of power. The world was seen, just as Schweitzer wrote four decades ago, as a chess-board. Britain feared the end of its Commonwealth; Russia, of its friendly ties with neutralist India; America, the effect on its effort to contain China.

Incinerators for Men and Women

This unconcern with the human factor was as evident in the area of conflict. To listen to the propaganda from New Delhi and Rawalpindi, their struggle was an effort to preserve the freedom of the Kashmir peasant, just as our aim in Vietnam is supposed to be the freedom of the Vietnamese peasant. As a practical matter, his wishes, his comfort and his life are of the least concern in either arena to his self-appointed liberators. This is what Schweitzer meant when he warned against treating individual human beings as objects. It is here that he saw the suicide of civilization. Within two decades of his warning, the Nazis set up crematoria for the mass incineration of races they disliked. Now all of us live in the shadow of nuclear incineration any time our leaders deem this unavoidable as a matter of honor or interest. Inhumanity is so taken for granted, we expect it even for ourselves.

Whatever the immediate outcome in India or Vietnam, sooner or later one of these lesser conflicts may escalate out of control into the big conflict we all fear. The time has come to recognize the general character which marks most of them, and the need for general solutions in advance. The war between India and Pakistan arose out of much the same circumstances to be found in Vietnam, in Germany, in Korea, in China and in Palestine. In each of these situations, cease-fire lines long ago established have never been turned into firm boundaries by peace treaties. War can erupt over these precarious lines at any time as in Kashmir. All are divided countries, kept apart by deep religious or ideological differences. Their Lilliputian divisions have become the symbols and the consequences of larger East-West divisions. They

(*Continued on Page Two*)

Goldwater, Nixon and Meany

The Gallup poll (Aug. 29) showed only one American in seven expects victory in Vietnam. The majority believe the war will end in negotiations. Samuel Lubell (Sept. 7) says all his surveys show "relatively little militant uncompromising feeling about Vietnam." Eliot Janeway in his New York Daily News financial column reports (Sept. 7) "one reason why the campus revolt against Vietnam is spreading into Congress" is because the business community fears the cost threatens the Johnson boom. Four voices, like the four horsemen of a new Apocalypse, were raised over the Labor Day weekend against this general trend. Goldwater wants the war intensified and Hanoi bombed. Nixon in Saigon spoke out against anything short of total victory. George Meany and George Harrison of the AFL-CIO devoted their Labor Day broadcasts to attacking talk of peace. Does organized U.S. labor really stand shoulder to shoulder with Goldwater and Nixon? How long will labor's saner voices remain intimidated by Meany's tight little pro-war dictatorship over the labor movement?

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In A General Settlement, Problems Large and Small May More Easily Be Solved

(*Continued from Page One*)

can best be solved in the framework of a world settlement. Without a world settlement, rival great powers will always have some interest in exacerbating them. In each case specific solutions may be beyond the political power of local leaders.

The U.S. Must Set The Example

In the frame work of a general solution, dangerous big power animosities can also be more easily resolved. Above all what the smaller countries need is not preachment but example. The feeling that the U.S. or Russia want to patch up the Indian-Pakistan quarrel only in order to further their own three-cornered struggle among themselves and China is conducive to cynicism. This is why we believe the time has come to offer a general program for the cementing of a new world order. The U.S. as the world's greatest power must take the lead in abnegation. It must show that it, too, is prepared to sacrifice politics-as-usual and thereby evoke a similar response from other nations. So we suggest a 7-point program for world peace:

1. Settle territorial disputes by election. This would mean a plebiscite in Kashmir to give its people a choice of joining Pakistan or India or independence. It would mean a free election in South Vietnam. In both cases all foreign troops would be withdrawn, including our own.

2. Federal systems, even if on a very limited basis to start with, for all divided countries. This would mean that Kashmir, Pakistan and India, North and South Vietnam, Formosa and mainland China, North and South Korea, West and East Germany, Israel and Arab Palestine would be encouraged to set up limited Federal institutions for such common problems as trade and cultural relations, widening and deepening these ties later as tension between the two parts relaxed.

3. Universal membership in the United Nations for all existing governments, representing the actual territories they control; the U.S. as a corollary to adopt the French system of relations with countries rather than governments, thus permanently ending the poisonous practice of awarding recognition as a kind of certificate of morality and merit.

4. A universal declaration that no government will henceforth play politics with hunger, as we have done by refusing to sell food or to trade with nations of which we disapprove. This would entail an end of our wheat sale discrimination against the Soviet Union and our embargoes against China and Cuba. It would establish trade for peace in place of trade embargoes for political punishment.

5. A universal declaration that no government will henceforth give or sell military equipment to another, but that this will be diverted to economic development instead.

6. A world freeze on all arms budgets and an end of all nuclear tests, above ground or below. We would give up our fetish about inspection as our contribution. These first dramatic steps ought to be followed by a world conference for arms reduction by stages with the savings diverted to development in the poorer areas of the earth.

7. Expand the World Court into a larger and more flexible agency for conciliation, mediation and arbitration, and pledge all nations to submit disputes to the Court instead of embarking on hostile measures.

The United States could also make a dramatic contribution to ending world lawlessness by liquidating two activities which create world suspicion. One are our spy-in-the-sky satellites; their main function is to map the targets in other countries for our bombers and missiles in the event of war. These satellites offend our allies as well as our rivals. The other is the CIA, which is widely regarded as a source of constant interference by the U.S. in other people's affairs, a mechanism for bribery and corruption, sometimes for the overthrow of governments and even the assassination of their rulers. Greece is the latest country where people suspect justly or unjustly that their political life has been poisoned and their democratic institutions endangered by CIA operations. To abolish this cloak-and-dagger agency would enhance our reputation and improve world stability.

Such moves on our part could indeed make this, in the noblest sense, the American Century, laying firm foundations for world order. We appeal to President Johnson, who has shown such great gifts in resolving clashes at home, of labor and capital, of white and black, to consider some such act of leadership abroad. Not since Woodrow Wilson has any President had so great an opportunity to serve mankind.

Why Just Bore Holes In The Sky, When You Might (Accidentally) Hit Somebody?

"Saigon, Sept. 3 (AP)—Viet Cong gunners shot down a troop-carrying U.S. Army helicopter today as it flew toward a guerrilla center that had been bombed by B-52s. . . . As in many saturation bombings by the Strategic Air Command fleet, they found no Viet Cong bodies."

—Baltimore Sun, Sept. 4.

"There was a belief on the part of the U.S. military that while the raid was not successful in terms of VC killed or installations destroyed, it had knocked the guerrillas off balance. . . . Additionally, it was pointed out that the raids gave B-52 pilots and crews operational combat experience; ditto for the air tanker refueling crews. These officers and men would be boring holes in the sky, anyway, on training missions."

—Washington Star, P. 1B, Sept. 5.

While Ky Liberates The North, All We Have to Do Is Liberate the South from Ky

ANNOUNCER: General Ky, though Premier of South Vietnam is a native of Hanoi, capital of North Vietnam and he recently proposed a new plan to hasten the defeat of the Communists.

Mr. CRONKITE: I'm very interested in this plan of yours to infiltrate North Vietnam the same way that the Communists have infiltrated South Vietnam. . . . Going into North Vietnam with a —

Premier KY: Yes.

Mr. CRONKITE: Democratic liberation front of our own.

—On CBS Face The Nation, July 18.

"The South Vietnamese government announced decrees giving Premier Nguyen Cao Ky sweeping powers to establish military administrations throughout the country. The move was seen as tightening Saigon's grip at a time when student unrest is simmering in the capital and northern cities. Observers said the decrees gave the premier the power to establish military zones in which officials would have the right to search houses day and night, ban strikes and public meetings, censor the press. . . ."

—Washington Post from Saigon, Sept. 4.

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The Coming Vote on the MFDP Challenge and the Next Elections

South Watching to See If It Can With Impunity Slow Up Negro Voting

A new wave of intimidation is sweeping many parts of the South to discourage Negro registration. Neither criminal nor civil penalties will prove of much effect. The one sanction would be to get Congress to refuse to seat those elected from districts in which Negro voting rights have been denied. This gives crucial significance to the still pending challenge by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. The Southern-dominated House Administration Committee has done a good job of delaying action. Speaker McCormack has now told Congressmen Wm. F. Ryan *(D. N.Y.)* and Don Edwards *(D. Cal.)*, the leaders in the challenge, that if the Committee does not report before September 21, they can bring to the floor a motion declaring vacant the seats of the five elected Mississippians. Last January 4 Congress voted 149 to 276 to seat the five pending investigation. Last May 600 depositions and 10,000 pages of testimony were filed. This is a monumental record of the violence and fraud used to prevent 90% of the State's Negroes from voting in the last election. If the five nevertheless retain their seats, Southern politicians will be encouraged to believe that they too can use terror to hold down the Negro voting at next year's elections and get away with it.

From the 1860s until 1904, there were some forty cases in which Southern Congressmen lost their seats because Negro voting rights were violated. These precedents are set forth in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party brief. Mrs. Victoria Gray, of the MFDP, told a Washington press conference April 3, "many people risked their lives and jobs to give evidence in February. It is hard for me to describe the effect on our people in Mississippi, if people in Washington fail to do the right thing." A hundred Mississippians are planning to come to Washington Sept. 12. We urge every reader to support their appeal by writing to his or her Congressman. Those who would like more specific information on how their Representative voted earlier on this question may obtain it by writing the MFDP at 926 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE, Washington, D. C. For those readers who would like to see how all this looks from rural Mississippi, we print below a dispatch from a Delta town where the mysterious "hit and run" killing of a Negro boy helped to slow up registration in one of the first two counties, Leflore, to get a Federal registrar. It was written by a young Seattle English teacher who gave up her job to work with the MFDP. She has brought to Washington for presentation to President Johnson letters from Negroes in the area, letters they were afraid to mail.

22 National Organizations Appeal

"For nearly a century, illegal, unconstitutional and inhuman measures have been used by the State of Mississippi to prohibit Negroes from exercising the ballot. . . . To allow members, the validity of whose election is in question, to continue to sit indefinitely with no settlement of the charges is to nullify the mechanism for ensuring that only legitimately elected persons serve in Congress. It is therefore essential that Congress act on these challenges in this session. . . . For the House to fail to deal openly and seriously with these challenges is to encourage Southern forces opposed to Negro voting to disregard the Voting Rights bill and to invite continued political exclusion of Negroes in the South."

—From a joint statement calling for a vote on the MFD challenge by 22 national organizations, including the ACLU, the ADA, the Commission on Race & Religion of the National Council of Churches, the Methodist Board of Social Concern.

Despair in the Rural Depths: Delta Negroes Appeal to LBJ in Mystery Killing

By Liz Fusco

Sidon, Miss.—The discovery of the badly mutilated body of a 16-year-old boy south of Greenwood, Miss., on Friday, Aug. 20 has raised protest in the Negro community. The protest is being voiced out of Sidon, the nearest rural town, in spite of the intensification of fear: fear of walking alone, fear of the night, fear of trying to register to vote. The protest is being voiced in spite of the terrible, often bitter hopelessness generally voiced whenever the question is raised of whether the law in Leflore county will do anything: 'A Negro get kill in Mississippi. And theres nothing being done about it." "Ain't nothing *ever* been done in Mississippi about killing no Negro." "If it was one of them. . . ." Negro kids are being killed—either by hit and run "accident", as the official coroner's verdict declared, or by murder, 'mobbed up', as the community feels—how much longer?

Freddy Lee Thomas was not participating in the Freedom movement in Leflore county. He was just a Negro kid walking alone too late at night. His body was found on the highway, so torn up that the ambulance driver who picked him up said he didn't feel an autopsy was necessary. But an autopsy was performed, with such haste that it was already completed before the boy's mother knew her son was dead. And the body was buried with such haste, a day ahead of the funeral arrangements, that the people who had planned to attend the funeral as a protest, the people in Sidon and the rural area surrounding Sidon, were further frustrated. Left with no further kind of direct action, the people talked about refusing to be intimidated from registering to vote. But as many talked about the uselessness of registering to vote. The people, seeing no evidence of investigation, even of a hit and run, even after a week, began to write appeals to President Johnson.

"Dear Mr. President: Please send us to protect here to help us. We ant got no freedom here at all. These White people here treat us any Kind of Way and if we try to help us selfe they get the cuecuck [KKK] again. A Sixteen year old boy was Kill and put him on the high Way so they could say a car hit him, but I know and the polices Know that car didn't hit . .. what good are Federal registrars if kids are killed?"

"Dear President Johnson: Being 16 years old in a land you call your "great Society", I just wonder just where in this great Society do I fit . . . where my race is 'open game', so to speak. . . . Maybe you can't answer my questions, Mr. President, but someone should think about them.

"Dear President Johnson: We are concerned here with more than the death of a Negro kid. We are concerned with the death of the intire Negro race. We are concerned with the fact that Negro men, Women and Children are shot down like rabbits. . . . Our young men are sent over seas to fight for freedom that they themselves don't have. What does it mean, Mr. President, when they're victims of hit-and-run accidents where nobody is ever punished? Accidents where Negroes are always on the receiving end. . . . How long can this go on, Mr. President? . . . How long can one man deny another the rights he was born with?"

"Dear Mr. President: At the rate little Negro boys are being killed in Mississippi there won't be any left within a couple of years. I'm a 13-year old Negro boy and I'm scared, because I don't know when they'll get me."

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Those Shiny White House Words to the Geneva Arms Parley Turned Out to Be Eye-Wash

Home Rule for D. of C. Johnson's Biggest Victory Over Racism

Of all Johnson's Congressional victories, the most spectacular was on home rule for the District of Columbia. Forty-eight hours before the White House succeeded in getting 218 signatures—a majority of the House—on a discharge petition, some of the shrewdest observers on the Hill were sure this time the President would fail. He was bucking not only the racial bias which fears Negro majority rule in the District of Columbia but the sacred committee system. The leadership and the other committee chairmen balked at interfering with the Southern-dominated District committee which had so long bottled up home rule. Washington lost the vote in 1874 as part of the reaction against Reconstruction.

Third Degree for Negroes

The undercurrent of racism toward the District of Columbia Johnson had to overcome showed itself plainly in the new criminal procedure act for the District which passed the House last March and the Senate last week. The House bill repealed the so-called Mallory rule entirely. The Mallory rule sought to protect the indigent and the ignorant i.e. mostly Negroes from the "third degree". It was laid down by a unanimous Supreme Court in 1957 in the case of a Negro sentenced to death for rape, and has since been the target of just that inflammatory mixture of sex and racism familiar in lynch mobs. The more sophisticated Senate 86 to 7 passed a less blatant but no less unconstitutional version which would legalize confessions obtained from suspects questioned not more than three hours "exclusive of interruptions" before arraignment. Arrests without probable cause are made all too frequently in the District. These build up that hatred for the police which appeared in Los Angeles as in every other Negro uprising.

Nuclear Policy Still Frozen

"The time is now. The hour is late. The fate of generations yet unborn is in our hands. . . ." So ended the eloquent message the White House sent the Geneva nuclear arms talks when they resumed Aug. 17. The words were eye-wash. The Johnson Administration has shown not the slightest intention to make the slightest change in U.S. policy for the sake of stopping nuclear proliferation. The old MLF plan reappeared in the intricate Dulles-style trickery of our proposal. The British were appalled by our leaving the door ajar for a German finger on the nuclear trigger. The only change brought about in a frozen situation by our stale offer was an hysterical outburst of anti-Americanism by Adenauer and Strauss in an otherwise dull German election campaign; somehow in their twisted minds we were undermining their security by making any offer at all! Strauss threatened us with a new Hitler, armed with nuclear weapons "or worse". India (see box this page), the only nation with the equipment ready to build an A-bomb in the very near future, made one last hopeless appeal. Now the Russians have accepted an Egyptian proposal for a treaty barring underground blasts above 20 kilotons, with a moratorium on the smaller ones. We can detect and identify close to 1 kiloton, but we still say no.

India's Last Appeal at Geneva

"The non-aligned delegations have spoken on this central theme on many occasions, namely, the unrealistic and irrational proposition that a non-proliferation treaty should impose obligations only on non-nuclear countries, while the nuclear powers continue to hold on to their privileged status . . . by retaining and even increasing their deadly stockpiles. . . . In India we have a word in our language derived from the name of an Emperor who lived at the beginning of the 17th century. He himself was a drunkard, but he prohibited drinking in the empire. . . . Our ultimate objective is clear. In the economic field the 'have-nots' have adopted for themselves programs of economic development so that eventually . . . they . . . become 'haves'. Conversely, in the disarmament field our objective is to achieve . . . a situation in which the 'haves' reduce their war arsenals and eventually become 'have-nots'. . . . Institution of international controls on peaceful reactors is like the attempt to maintain law and order in a society by placing all its law-abiding citizens in custody while leaving its law-breaking elements free to roam the streets."

—Mr. Trivedi (India) at the Geneva talks Aug. 12.

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NEWSPAPER

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Published every Monday except in August, the last week in December and the first week in January and Bi-Weekly during July at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U.S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

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